

neighborhood of Brooklyn along North Fourth Street. Although some businesses remained in areas popular in the 1897 directory, the overall numbers were significantly lower. For example, in 1897, there were 76 black businesses located along street in the city's central business district. By 1900, the number was down to 33. A slight increase was seen in the numbers of businesses located in the Fourth Street business district. By 1946, the African American community had worked to revive its black businesses and boasted 196 businesses, ranging from 63 grocers and 22 barbers to 6 doctors and 50 beauty parlors. Reverend J. Irving Boone of Central Baptist Church led an effort to advertise the successes of the city's black entrepreneurs. As such, Boone published directories of black businesses in the city in 1945 and 1946. Boone profiled some of the business leaders, and others touted their history in the city in their advertisements. Shaw's funeral home still operated in the city, having been in business for 50 years and had branched into operating funeral parlors in 10 other cities. Some of the business leaders arrived after 1898. For example, the Red Cross Shoe Shop and the People's Shoe Shop had been in operation for over 25 years. A survey of the directory demonstrates that many of the black businesses established for black consumption managed to prosper and survive over decades following the violence.¹⁸

Most of the city's black workers, however, were laborers employed by whites. These workers were the ones most affected by the white supremacy campaign's promises of jobs for white workers. Skilled

workers saw the most losses in the city over the years following the coup. By the time the 1902 city directory was printed, skilled, semi-skilled, and transportation workers had been displaced, and the number of unskilled and unemployed workers had grown. Cody surmised that when combined with the changes to the city's demographics as a result of a continuous out-migration by blacks, black residents were either forced from higher status, i.e. higher paying jobs, to those of lower pay as unskilled workers, or, "those in higher-status occupations left and blacks migrating into the city took unskilled jobs."¹⁹

Professional positions in the city were dominated by attorneys, doctors, teachers, and ministers before the violence. Of the leaders banished from the city, most were from these categories. As a result of the banishment and intimidation campaign, four attorneys left the city, and no African American attorney practice law in the city until 1902. By 1902, the professional blacks in the city were still predominately teachers and ministers plus three doctors. Mid-level professional jobs, mainly those of postal clerks, were also affected. In 1897, there were nine blacks affiliated with the postal system in various positions and by 1902 only two remained.²⁰

Out-migration from the city posed problems for both white employers and the local black community. A continued exodus of black workers plagued the city into 1899

¹⁸ R. Irving Boone, ed., *Negro Business and Professional Men and Women: A Survey of Negro Progress in Varied Sections of North Carolina v. 2* (Wilmington, by the author, 1946); R. Irving Boone, ed., *Directory of Negro Businesses in Wilmington and Southeastern North Carolina* (Wilmington: by the author, 1945).

¹⁹ Cody, "After the Storm," 99-100. Cody also acknowledged that it was possible that methods of data collection for the city directory changed over time and comparison across directories is not a dependable paradigm. The issue of migration will be discussed further later in this chapter.

²⁰ Postal workers had been targeted by the white supremacy campaign as especially dangerous workers since they came in daily contact with white women in public situations. The documented black postal workers of 1902 were employed in behind-the-scenes jobs and did not deal with the public. Cody, "After the Storm," 106-108.